

## Chapter 2

# COLONIAL TRANSCULTURATION

Gradually, indigenous Americans and their new European overlords changed each other's ways and created new cultures that were neither indigenous nor European. Africans also played a role in the process, as will be documented in the next chapter. For now, however, we will explore the theme of indigenous/European interactions in South America after the Encounter, during the "mature colonial period" (the 1600s and afterwards).

The primary location of early colonization in South America was in the high Andes, especially Peru. Two things attracted colonizing energies into the Andes. Of these, large populations of fully sedentary farmers constituted the main attraction. The Spanish wanted, above all, to extend their control over prosperous, well-organized societies, and they found exactly that in the Inca Empire. Of secondary, but still enormous, importance, were the silver mines located in the same region, especially the fabulously productive "mountain of silver" at Potosí, probably the single greatest silver mine in the history of the world.

Two lengthy and valuable primary sources provide evidence about indigenous Peruvian understandings of colonization: the works of Garcilaso de la Vega (or "El Inca Garcilaso," as he is usually called) and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (Guaman Poma, for short), excerpted for this chapter. Both men were of indigenous descent, each having one foot in the indigenous world and one in the Spanish world. Thus both exemplify the cultural process of give-and-take that scholars of Latin America called *transculturation*. Guaman Poma (whose name is entirely indigenous) spoke the two major indigenous

languages of the Andes, Quechua and Aymara, but his Spanish was shaky, and he never left Peru. El Inca Garcilaso (whose name echoes that of a great Spanish poet) lived most of his life in Spain and wrote superb Spanish. Both Guaman Poma and El Inca Garcilaso were spokesmen for an indigenous perspective, though in contrasting ways. Guaman Poma wrote a white-hot denunciation of Spanish abuses, while El Inca Garcilaso wrote a tactful history designed to set Spanish readers at ease even as he insisted on the value and dignity of things indigenous. Both authors were pious Catholics and loyal subjects of the Spanish crown. In addition to these two documents, a third and final excerpt on colonial Peru offers a total contrast to both: the screed of a Spanish official who disregards, and even disdains, the indigenous perspective.

Two other primary sources in this chapter deal with the semisedentary peoples of South America, who had not been part of the Inca Empire and whose interaction with the European invaders led, in some cases, to the indigenous people's total annihilation. Because semisedentary people had to move, occasionally, in order to feed themselves, Europeans could not simply conquer and rule over them as they ruled over sedentary peoples. Instead, semisedentary peoples had to be captured and enslaved or, alternatively, attracted into mission settlements. Missions were, in fact, the principal form of colonization in much of Latin America, most of which—including such far flung areas as northern Mexico and the Orinoco and Amazon basins—was inhabited by semisedentary or nonsedentary peoples. The Guaraní missions of Paraguay (and surrounding areas) were among the most notable (and certainly the most famous) missions in South America. Jesuit Father Cardiel's description of mission life in this chapter will give some indication of larger patterns that extended through many parts of Brazil, where Jesuits were the principal missionaries. The missionaries were paternalistic, which means that they sincerely wanted to benefit the indigenous people but had no qualms about trying to "improve" indigenous ways. Still, given the large predominance of indigenous populations in mission areas, two-way transculturation was inevitable. The phenomenon is easily observable in Father Cardiel's discussion of church festivals in the missions.

Some semisedentary people resisted missionization and also eluded destruction. That was the case of the Mapuches of southern Chile, who battled Spanish conquerors to a stalemate that lasted for centuries. One Spanish captive, taken prisoner in this ongoing battle with the Mapuches, wrote an account of his "happy captivity," excerpted for this chapter. His narrative represents the common phenomenon of Europeans who, finding themselves immersed in indigenous societies, learned the language of their captors and came to respect their cultures. In addition, such captives usually married into the indigenous societies, something that the narrative of "happy captivity" clearly suggests as a possibility, though it did not occur in this case.

## ROYAL COMMENTARIES OF THE INCAS

### Garcilaso de la Vega

*El Inca Garcilaso was the son of a Spanish conqueror and an Inca princess. Born in 1539 in the former Inca capital of Peru, Cuzco, he lived as a child with his mother and then traveled to Spain as a young man to seek his fortune and spent the rest of his life there, receiving a Spanish education, serving in the Spanish army, and becoming a great master of Spanish prose style. While thoroughly adapted to life in Spain, he nonetheless maintained a powerful identification with his mother's people, and his Royal Commentaries of the Incas (1609), excerpted here, is one of the most valuable histories of pre-Columbian and conquest-era Peru. Readers should note that he uses the word "Inca" to refer to the emperor and members of his family, not to the inhabitants of the empire generally.*

#### THE AUTHOR'S EXPLANATION CONCERNING THIS HISTORY

During my childhood I heard stories, told in the manner of fables recounted to children, about matters I narrate in this book. Afterward, when I was older, my elders related in detail the laws and

government of the Incas, comparing them to the laws and government of the Spaniards, with particular attention to the rigorous punishment of various crimes. My elders told me of the Incas' actions in peace and in war, of how the Incas had treated their vassals and how these had served them. Moreover, with the candor proper to parents speaking to their own children, they related their idolatries, enumerating all the rites, ceremonies, and sacrifices, all the feast days, both major and minor, and how they were celebrated. They spoke of their superstitions and false beliefs, of their omens, good and ill, and of how they interpreted sacrifices and other signs. In sum, I learned from them everything about their state and society, so much that, were I to write it all here, this work would be even longer than it is.

In addition to having told me all of this, I saw with my own eyes many idolatrous and superstitious practices that still persisted in my childhood. I was born only eight years after the Spaniards seized control of our country, and I lived there until I was twenty years old. Some of the heathen ways of which I was witness did not fully disappear until I was twelve or thirteen years old. And even beyond what elders of my own family told me, beyond what I witnessed with my own eyes, I have acquired further knowledge of the Inca monarchs, of their deeds and conquests, by writing to men who studied with me at school in Cuzco when I decided to write this history, asking each of them to supply information particular to their respective provinces of origin, because each province has its own annals and retains special memories of what transpired there. My former schoolmates, taking my request to heart, relayed it to family members in their provinces of origin, and their families, upon learning that an Indian, a son of Peru, wished to write a history of their native land, gladly supplied the requested information, and thus did I piece together a complete picture of each Inca emperor's rule.

SOURCE: adapted from Garcilaso de la Vega, *Primera parte de los Comentarios reales* (Lisbon: Oficina de Pedro-Crassbeek, 1609), pp. 1:48–50; 2:249–51; 2:252–57; 2:267; 2:269–70; 2:278–79.

From the apparently fabulous beginnings of Inca rule derive the great domains that Spain today possesses in Peru, for which cause the telling of these fables is permissible and worthwhile, and I promise to tell no more than what I heard at my mother's knee and afterward learned in the manner that I have indicated. And I promise further not to omit anything condemnable or invent anything praiseworthy to augment the virtues of the heathens, who verily swim in a sea of error. And further yet, I will not write of new topics previously unheard of, but rather, will discuss the matters written about by Spanish historians who have chronicled the things of Peru and its Inca rulers, quoting their words when need be, to show that I am not improvising fictions in favor of my family and relations. For the most part, I will merely amplify elements that Spanish authors have left incomplete because their sources were themselves incomplete, and, occasionally, correct errors rooted in that same reason. Moreover, I will add facts of unquestionable truth omitted in earlier accounts but leave out apocryphal episodes that they may have inserted thanks to false reports or confusions of place and time or misunderstandings that have their origins in an imperfect comprehension of Quechua. In truth the most knowledgeable Spaniard knows only a fraction of the possible meanings of a given word and often confuses words of similar pronunciation.

#### THE LAST TESTAMENT AND DEATH OF HUAYNA CÁPAC AND HIS PREDICTION CONCERNING THE COMING OF THE SPANIARDS

One day during the royal Inca Huayna Cápac's stay in the Kingdom of Quito, he took a chill upon bathing for pleasure in a highland lake. The chill, which the Indians call *chucchu*, meaning "trembling," was followed by a fever, which they call *rupa*, meaning "burning," and on subsequent days, given that he felt ever worse and worse, the emperor believed that he was dying, because his death in this manner had been foretold years earlier by a sorcerer or *amauta*, a heathen "soothsayer," "priest," or "wise man." Omens such as these regarding the person of the emperor were accorded great authority

in those idolatrous times because they were said to be revelations coming directly from the royal Inca's celestial father, the Sun. Aside from these demonic prognostications made by sorcerers, there appeared other omens, frightening comets in the skies (one of them green in color and horrifying in the extreme), and a bolt of lightning that struck the Inca's very house, as well as other prodigious signs that alarmed the amautas. They augured not only the death of Huayna Cápac but also the end of his royal bloodline, the destruction of his empire, and other great calamities destined to affect our society as a whole and to devastate each of its members. The amautas did not dare to publicize their predictions, however, lest the highly impressionable people, who were quick to believe in such things, become paralyzed with dread.

Huayna Cápac, feeling very ill, summoned his children and the other relatives whom he had near him, as well as the governors and military leaders of the surrounding provinces who dwelt near enough to be able to arrive in time. Speaking first to those of royal blood, he said: "I will soon go to rest in heaven with Our Father the Sun, who revealed to me years ago that a river or lake would cause my death. My having emerged from the waters of a lake with my current illness constitutes a sure sign that Our Father is calling me to him now. Once I am dead, you should open my corpse in the manner that we are accustomed to do with the bodies of deceased royalty. I command that my heart and entrails be buried in Quito as a sign of the love that I bear for that land. Take the rest of my body back to Cuzco to be interred alongside those of my parents and grandparents. To your care I entrust my beloved son Atahualpa, who will replace me as Inca in Quito and everywhere else that he is able to bring under his imperium, whether by the influence of his royal person or by the triumph of arms. I enjoin those of you who are my war captains, especially, to obey Atahualpa with the fidelity and love that you properly owe to your sovereign, in anything that he may command, and these very things I will reveal to him forthwith, by order of Our Father the Sun. Be just and merciful, all of you, with the vassals of our realm, so that we do not lose our reputation as true benefactors of the humble. I charge you to behave always as befits Incas, true Children of the Son."

Having spoken these words to his children and other relatives, he then addressed the captains and *kurakas*\* not of royal blood, citing the loyalty and obedience properly owed to the sovereign, and then saying: "For many years it has been known to us by revelation of Our Father the Sun that following the reigns of twelve of his children as royal Incas, new people, not hitherto known, would appear among us, and that the newcomers would conquer us and add this, our territory, to their own empire, along with many other territories. And I suspect that the strangers who have recently appeared on the shores of our sea are those whose coming is foretold and that they must be intrepid and powerful people who will have the advantage over us in all things. My rule is, as we know, the rule of the twelfth Inca, so I can say to you with certainty that within a few years of my death the new people will come to fulfill the revelation made by Our Father the Sun, to conquer our empire and become its overlords. And I command that you obey them and serve them as those who have advantage over you in all things. Their laws will be superior to ours, and their arms will be invincible. Abide in peace, for I go now to rest with My Father the Son, who calls me."

Spanish writers have indicated that the royal Inca's predictions became known throughout Peru. Pedro de Cieza de León, in chapter forty-four of his chronicle, touches on the predictions made by Huayna Cápac about the coming of the Spaniards and about his saying that newcomers such as those recently seen in ships would impose their rule over his empire. Cieza de León says that the dying Inca recounted these things to his people in Tumipampa, near Quito, where he further says that Huayna Cápac first learned of the coming of the Spanish discoverers of Peru. Francisco López de Gómara, in chapter one hundred and fifteen of his history, tells that Huayna Cápac's son Huáscar also made reference to his father's predictions of Spanish conquest in the following manner (which I quote word for word) saying that "his dying father Huayna Cápac had told him to befriend the bearded white men who would shortly arrive, for these men would become the new lords of the land."

\**Kuraka* is an Andean word for local indigenous chieftain, roughly equivalent to *cacique*.

The instructions that Huayna Cápac left as his last will and testament were regarded with veneration and faithfully obeyed by his subjects. I remember that one day during my youth in Peru, when an old Inca was speaking to my mother, describing the arrival of the Spaniards and how they had taken over our country, I inquired: "Inca, how is it that such a rough and mountainous land, defended by such numerous and warlike armies, was surrendered so quickly to so few Spanish invaders?" In response he explained Huayna Cápac's foretelling of the Spanish victory and how the emperor had instructed his subjects to obey and serve the Spaniards because they would have the advantage over our people in all things. And having explained these things, he addressed me angrily for having implied that the defenders of our lost empire had been pusillanimous and cowardly, saying: "The last words spoken to us by our Inca did more to defeat us and destroy our empire than did all the weapons that your Spanish father and his comrades brought with them to our land." His point was the immense esteem with which our people had always regarded the instructions of their Inca, and all the more so regarding the final instructions of Huayna Cápac, the most beloved Inca of them all.

Huayna Cápac died of his illness, and his people did as he had instructed them, opening his body and embalming it to take it back to Cuzco, except for his heart, which they interred in Quito as he had wished. During the journey to Cuzco, at every populated place the people came to pay their respects to the deceased Inca because of the love that they had borne him, and they did so with great sentiment, clamor, and crying. The funeral observances that were organized upon the arrival of his body in the imperial capital, according to the custom of the times, lasted an entire year. Huayna Cápac left more than two hundred sons and more than three hundred daughters, and almost all of them were killed by his would-be successor Atahualpa.

#### THINGS THAT DID NOT EXIST IN PERU UNTIL THE SPANISH BROUGHT THEM

Many readers will want to know what things did not exist in Peru before the Spanish conquered it, and I would like them to observe

that many things they may believe utterly necessary to human life were absent in Peru, and yet people got along quite happily without them.

First of all, they did not have horses for war or celebrations until Spaniards arrived with horses and used them for their conquests. In the early days of conquest, therefore, horses were highly prized and generally not for sale. If one did find a horse for sale, because its owner had died or planned to return to Spain, the price was sure to be excessive—four, five, or even six thousand pesos. In the year 1554, for example, before the battle of Chuquinca, a rich gentleman approached Don Alonso de Alvarado, who was going to fight. Alvarado's black slave was there, too, leading a fine war horse, with a beautiful saddle and bridle, ready for his master to mount. The horse caught the rich gentleman's eye, and he said: "I'll give ten thousand pesos, right now, for the horse and slave together." Alvarado declined. He was then severely wounded in the battle, and his horse was killed. The point of this story is that a very rich gentleman with many Indians at his service could not buy a horse, even at a most exorbitant price. The owner of the horse did not have Indians at his service, but he was a famous soldier and required his horse for a battle. These men were both of noble Spanish blood, and I knew both of them. Many horses have been bred in Peru since that time, so the price has come down considerably. A good riding horse now costs three hundred or four hundred pesos, and an old nag, twenty or thirty.

The Indians had a notable fear of horses at first. Now they are much more used to horses, but still, one never finds an Indian shoeing horses, although Indians have shown great skill in all the other trades introduced from Spain. Shoeing requires close handling of a horse, and Indians do not want to do it. It is true that Indian servants do tend horses, but they never dare to ride. I can say, in truth, that I have never seen an Indian mount a horse. Indeed, to climb up and down the rugged mountains of Peru, Indian carriers are much more useful than horses, for they have been born and bred for such work.

Before the conquest, the Indians did not have cows or oxen to plow the earth to plant their crops. Cows seem to have arrived just

after the conquest, brought by many different people, and they spread quickly throughout Peru. I first saw oxen plowing in the Valley of Cuzco more or less in the year 1550. A horde of Indians was rushing to see such a totally new and monstrous thing, and they took me along. They said in amazement that the Spaniards forced these enormous animals to do their work out of pure laziness. I remember the day well because I did not go to school and the escapade cost me two whippings, one from my father and one from the schoolmaster.

Horses and cows were not the only animals that the Indians lacked before the arrival of the Spaniards. They had neither camels, nor donkeys, nor mules to carry their loads; nor sheep, whether the common sort or fine merinos, for meat and wool; nor goats or pigs for meat and leather; nor dogs of the kind that hunt or care for livestock. Pigs and goats also arrived soon after the conquest in considerable numbers. I remember seeing them in Cuzco when I was very young.

As for crops, before the conquest the Indians of Peru had neither wheat nor barley, neither wine nor olive oil, neither fruits nor vegetables of the Spanish sort. Let us account for their appearance, then. The first person to introduce wheat into my country (by which I mean the entire empire once ruled by the Incas) was a noblewoman named María de Escobar, married to a gentleman called Diego de Chaves, both of them natives of Trujillo in Spain. I met her in Cuzco where she went to live long after her initial arrival in Peru, but I did not meet him because he died in Lima. No one was able to tell the year in which this good woman first planted wheat down on the coast. But I know that she had so few grains at first that for three years she saved the entire harvest for seed and did not make any bread at all. Each year of those first three she doled out twenty or thirty grains from her harvest to her friends so that each of them could begin to plant wheat in the new land.

Grapes and wine were likewise unknown in the Inca empire before the Spanish conquest. In the year 1560, during my journey from the highlands to the coast on my way to Spain, I met an administrator of a rural property, Alfonso Vázquez, a fine fellow and very knowledgeable about agriculture. Vázquez gave me a full tour of the establishment under his charge, including a vineyard that was quite loaded with grapes, and yet he did not offer a single bunch to me,

his guest, a footsore traveler, although I clearly desired to taste the grapes. It would have been a magnificent gesture, and yet he did not make the offer. Aware of my puzzlement at his refusal to do so, he begged my pardon, explaining that the owner of the estate had forbidden him to touch even a single precious grape because he wanted every one of them for wine. Back then, even landowners with many Indians at their service did not offer wine to anyone, unless perhaps to a guest who needed a glass for reasons of health, because wine was not considered a daily necessity at all. Wine was still so rare in Peru that, out of politeness, guests sometimes refused a glass even when their hosts offered it, and sometimes there was not enough wine available to offer communion at mass, even in Lima.

As for fruit, Peru lacked pomegranates, oranges, apples, limes, pears, peaches, apricots, plums, and many other things that Spain has. It would be good to know just who brought each of these fruits to Peru and in what year, because each is a blessing and the person who introduced it deserves our praise and remembrance.

Finally, we have been forgetting the most important living things that have lately arrived in the Indies, the Spaniards themselves, and also the blacks that the Spaniards brought with them to serve as slaves, for blacks did not exist in the Indies until the Spaniards introduced them. Whites and blacks have combined with the Indians to produce a variety of mixtures, each of which has its own name. Let us consider these varieties of people. A person who goes to the Indies from Spain is called an *español* or a *castellano*, two names which in the Indies amount to the same thing. A son born to Spaniards in the Indies is called a *criollo*, and a daughter, a *criolla*. These names were first invented by blacks to distinguish those born in Africa from their children born in the Indies. The African parents consider it a point of honor to have been born in their original homeland, and they are offended if one calls them *criollos*. Therefore, the parents are called simply *negros* or *guineos*, whereas their children, born outside of the African homeland, are called *criollos*, as are the children of Spaniards born outside theirs. Children born of a Spanish-Indian combination are called *mestizos*, which indicates that they are a mixture of those two nations. This name was established by the first Spaniards to have children with Indian women. Here in Spain, I use the term

proudly and feel honored by it. Back in the Indies, however, the term *mestizo* is considered scornful.

*Analyzing the Sources:* How does the author try to make his Inca history nonthreatening to his Spanish readership? As in the López de Gómara and Sahagún selections, this one contains a prophecy of conquest taken, ultimately, from indigenous sources. Why would indigenous people create these prophecies *ex post facto*?

## THE FIRST NEW CHRONICLE

### Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala

Guaman Poma was an indigenous noble born in Peru after the Spanish conquest, around the middle of the 1500s. He used his facility in several indigenous languages to compile a sustained and hard-hitting critique of Spanish colonial rule in Peru, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government*, written between 1600 and 1615. Guaman Poma's book is especially notable for its almost four hundred drawings, two of which accompany this excerpt. In the excerpt, the author imagines himself in direct dialogue with the king of Spain, making his denunciation of colonial problems directly to the king's ear. In fact, the Spanish king never saw Guaman Poma's book, which remained unpublished until the twentieth century.

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#### MESSAGE TO HIS ROYAL CATHOLIC MAJESTY DON FELIPE III, MONARCH OF THE WORLD

##### PROLOGUE

I say to Your Royal Holy Catholic Majesty—shedding tears and crying out to heaven, pleading to God, the Virgin Mary, and all the

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SOURCE: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva Corónica y buen gobierno*, *Compuesto por don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Señor y Príncipe*, digitized manuscript, Royal Library of Denmark, <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/es/frontpage.htm>, msp. 982–89, 999.

saints and angels—I say that we, the poor, suffer untold punishment, ill fortune, and destruction. May God and Your Majesty not permit the end of us poor Indians or the depopulation of your kingdom.

##### DIALOGUE

*Guaman Poma de Ayala:* Your Royal Catholic Majesty, I tell you that in the kingdom of Peru the Indians are coming to an end, utterly to an end. In twenty years, there will be no Indians in this kingdom to serve your royal Crown and defend our holy Catholic faith, and without the Indians, Your Majesty will have nothing because, remember, the labor of the Indians has made Castile what it is today. Your grandfather and your father were monarchs of great power and renown because of the Indians, and Your Majesty also. And this valuable kingdom is already being depopulated. In places where there were a thousand souls, not a hundred remain, and all of them old men and women who can no longer multiply. Married women are being stolen away, and unmarried men will have to marry old women who cannot have children. Besides, the Indians suffer great woes. Their sons and daughters are taken from them, and they can do nothing because all conspire against the Indians: Spaniards and mestizos; judges, officials, and *encomenderos*;<sup>\*</sup> inspectors and priests of the Holy Mother Church. All conspire against the poor. All have worked hand in hand to favor the Spanish *dons* and the lady *doñas*. They exploit the poor and enter their lands and houses by force. To write these things is to weep. No officials report these things to Your Majesty. Throughout the kingdom of Peru the Indians are losing everything, but I will tell the truth regarding the income and benefits which the Indians have enjoyed and should continue to enjoy. Your Majesty should know how you are being served by the Indians. Twice a year, they offer silver, corn, wheat, clothing, chickens, livestock, and other tribute. In addition, they serve in the mines and plazas and royal inns along the highways of the kingdom. They

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<sup>\*</sup>*Encomenderos* were Spaniards who possessed *encomienda* grants of indigenous labor and tribute. These grants were curtailed, but not completely eliminated, by the New Laws.

~PREGVITA·ELAVTOR  
MAVILLAVAI·ACHAMITAMA



THIS PICTURE SHOWS GUAMAN POMA (in Spanish clothes) collecting information for his book. "Tell me," he asks in two Andean languages: Quechua ("MA VILLAVAI") and Aymara ("ACHAMITAMA").  
*Snark / Art Resource, New York.*

maintain the roads and repair the bridges. They produce all sorts of revenues—the personal tax, the tithe, and the royal fifth. Your Majesty does not get as much revenue from all the mestizos, pardos, and Spaniards put together. Therefore, the Indians are worth an inestimable amount to Your Majesty: Take care that this kingdom should not lose these Indians. If a Spaniard steals away four Indian women to make little mestizos, he will bribe the judges and refuse to recognize his paternity. The Spaniards have many women and many mestizo children. They extract women from scattered settlements and pursue them day and night, both in the women's houses and in public gathering places. If the women's fathers and mothers try to defend them, they suffer mistreatment also. The Spaniards do not let Indian women marry or, if they are married, live with their husbands. So the married ones are unable to have children by their husbands and instead give birth to little mestizos. The kingdom of Peru is now full of mestizos who wander around dressed like Indians. And when a poor Indian woman has a child by a poor Indian man, the church and civil officials and *encomenderos* immediately descend on her to make her the servant of some lady or priest. Then they fornicate with her, and she soon gives birth to more little mestizos. And eventually she prefers to live that way, and on and on it goes.

*His Royal Catholic Majesty:* Tell me, author Ayala. You have told me many disturbing things about how the Indians are coming to an end and are suffering troubles and cannot multiply because Spaniards steal their wives and daughters and all their possessions, leaving them with nothing. I do not send my judges to rob or do harm; but rather to honor the nobles, *caciques*, local authorities, and poor Indians that they may thrive and multiply in the service of God and my royal Crown, and in the defense of the holy Catholic faith. Tell me now, author Ayala, how can these problems be remedied?

*Guaman Poma de Ayala:* I say to Your Majesty that the Spaniards ought to live like Christians, marrying ladies of equal status and leaving the poor Indian women alone so that they can have Indian children. They should leave the Indians' property alone, give back



what they have taken, offer money for what they have used, and pay the legal penalty if they fail to do so. He who abuses an Indian virgin or gets a married woman pregnant or forces her to fornicate should pay the legal penalty and be banished to Chile or sentenced to six years of hard labor, and all his possessions should be confiscated to pay the Indian woman and the court expenses. And any judge who fails to do justice deserves the same punishment. Enforce the laws, and the Indians will multiply.

Your Royal Catholic Majesty, about the community lands belonging to the Indians and the churches, religious brotherhoods, and hospitals: in order that they may prosper, I recommend that the Indians be asked to give an accounting to me as your second-in-command in this kingdom. They could report to me twice a year, paying me a salary so that I will be able to devote myself to the service of God and your royal Crown and increase the public revenues. I further recommend that all the Indian and royal authorities report to me as your second-in-command in this kingdom, so that I may inform you of their needs and deservings, for I know all there is to know, all the whys and wherefores. Let me and my descendents have this power, by law and in perpetuity, and I assure you that then no Indian will go around wearing Spanish clothes, or assume the title of *don* or *doña*, or assume a title of authority that he does not deserve. That way, the Indian authorities will have to prove themselves loyal and faithful Christians, eager to serve God and Your Majesty and favor the poor.

Your Royal Catholic Majesty, if one Indian pueblo prospers and its population multiplies while another pueblo declines and only a few Indians remain there, then Your Majesty, as the new Inca king of Peru, should transfer the croplands, pastures, jurisdiction, and property of the declining pueblo to the prospering one, so that its inhabitants may serve God and Your Majesty. The names of Indians who have strayed from their pueblos without permission should go on a list, and the authorities should assign a Spaniard, mestizo, or mulatto to search for them, receiving a reward of one peso per Indian brought back in shackles. The prisoner should do forced labor to pay for the cost of his capture and then be returned to his pueblo.



"GOD MADE THE HEAVEN AND THE EARTH" is a translation of the picture title, given in Spanish. The paired representation of the sun and the moon in this illustration constitutes an Andean influence. Do you see any other elements that might have native overtones? *Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.*

So that the Indian pueblos might remain well populated and multiply, Your Royal Catholic Majesty should order the local authorities to be removed and the priests also, if they commit a single infraction, and that will remedy the problem. Also, prohibit *encomenderos* from entering the Indian pueblos, ever, for any reason, and let that prohibition be strictly enforced by royal authorities. Indian authorities should be descendants of the great Inca lords of this kingdom, reaching back to *Wari Wiracocha Runa*, *Wari Runa*, *Purun Runa*, *Auca Runa*, and *Incap Runa*. Let none be a drunk, a coca chewer, or a gambler. Good Indian leaders will recover the wanderers who have left their pueblos, and all will live at ease and multiply in the service of God and Your Majesty. Furthermore, Majesty, the Indians should not be forced to labor in the mercury mines for a year. The Indians should be allowed to rest, without the mines stopping their production, to serve Your Majesty.

*His Royal Catholic Majesty:* But tell me, author, how can the Indians rest and the mines continue working?

*Guaman Poma de Ayala:* I say to Your Majesty that the Indians who serve as laborers in the Spanish cities of this kingdom should go to the mines and trade places with the Indians who are there for one year, because working in the mercury mines is the most dangerous thing of all. Let Indians who have gone to the cities replace those in the mines and work hard for a year while the others rest. Remember, Your Majesty, the king who loses all his Indian vassals loses everything.

*His Royal Catholic Majesty:* Explain to me, author, exactly what you mean.

*Guaman Poma de Ayala:* I say to Your Majesty that the Indians provide all the income of this kingdom. Like you, I am a prince, and without my subjects, I would be nothing. Without Indians, the land will be left barren and empty. Therefore, let no Indian boy under the age of twenty be sent to the mines or sent to smelt ore or work in any way with mercury. The young ones get mercury poisoning very

quickly, and, since there is no cure, they die, and that will be the end of all the Indians.

*His Royal Catholic Majesty:* Tell me, author. What is the remedy?

*Guaman Poma de Ayala:* Let only strong, full-grown Indians be sent to work in the mines, and let each work for one day at a time, no more, each alternating with others, so none will get sick and die. And Indians who are to go to the mines should be freed for one month from personal service before they go, so that they may commend their souls to God and Mary and all the saints and angels, singing and dancing and enjoying some time with their families. Also, they should go to confession, take Communion, and make a last will and testament. Finally, I say to Your Majesty that food and water should be stored in the mines so that if the miners become trapped inside, they can survive for a time with the help of God. And let those outside work day and night to open a way into the collapsed mineshaft and deliver the trapped miners from the mountain.

*Analyzing the Sources:* Like *Caminha* and *las Casas*, *Guaman Poma* was writing directly to the king. How does he seek to interest "the monarch of the world" in his denunciation of abuses? What is his overall attitude toward Spanish rule?

## HAPPY CAPTIVITY

### Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán

*Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán* was a Spanish soldier born around 1607 on the southern frontier of Chile. In the early colonial period, the region was defined by the fierce resistance of the semisedentary Araucano people (today known more properly as the Mapuches). When Núñez was only about twenty-two, he was captured by the Mapuches and held captive for seven months. Nevertheless, he was well treated (in part because of the fame of his father Álvaro, an esteemed war captain) and decades later, in 1673, penned an account entitled *Happy Captivity*, a book not published

until 1863. The following excerpt begins at a point when the "happy captive" has been deposited by his original captor in the house of a Mapuche chieftain, Tereupillán.

After only two or three days, the children of Tereupillán had become so fond of me that they could scarce be without me for an instant. Altogether, there were seven or eight children of many mothers, for Tereupillán had four wives. My closest companions among his sons were two, about ten to twelve years old, who shared the wonderful bed that their father had given me, a mattress pad and covering of thirty fluffy and clean fur pelts sewn together for protection against the winter frost. Tereupillán asked that I teach his sons Christian prayers. Many of this chieftain's people knew some prayers, and the two boys, who had learned to say the Lord's prayer by heart from some old Spanish women, captives there before my time, repeated it perfectly each night before we went to bed and then again in the morning when we arose.

After a few nights, I asked if they understood what they were praying and they said no.

"Why should I teach you more prayers, then," said I, "if you won't understand them either?"

"We want to know them anyway," replied the boys, "because we are told that they are the word of God."

"All right," said I, "that is a good reason, and I will gladly teach you. Moreover, I will do so in your own language so that you can know the meaning of the prayers and better understand our sacred mysteries. Now, repeat after me . . ."

Sitting up in bed, they did so, thrilled to learn to pray in Mapuche. After only a few repetitions they had memorized a goodly portion of the Lord's Prayer in their own language and were immensely pleased to be mastering its meaning. After three or four days they

SOURCE: adapted from Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, *El cautiverio feliz* (Santiago: Empresa Editora Zig-Zag, 1948), pp. 281–84, 319–21, 336–40.

had mastered it completely, and word got out to the boys who lived in the neighboring huts. Then, for many days I had fourteen or fifteen boys around me, sent by their parents so that they might learn our faith and be baptized. Then a grown woman came to learn Christian prayers, and she brought me a hen, in which others imitated her, bringing me hens, corn, eggs, potatoes, and other things to eat, which I told them that they need not do, and yet they insisted, thereby demonstrating their eagerness to become Christians. I noticed then, and have subsequently noticed elsewhere, that heathens embrace our holy Catholic faith with a better heart before we conquer them.

Soon Indians were coming to me from all around to prepare for baptism. I noticed that many came from districts where other Spaniards had resided for years. I wondered why the Indians had not learned prayers from these other Spaniards. An old man explained to me that these other Spaniards were not captives, but rather, renegades who lived among them by choice, adopting Indian ways and abandoning Christian ones. Various captives had told the people that these were heretics, because only heretics would choose to live among Indians, and they rightly judged that a heretic who had rejected our religion could not lead anyone to it.

\* \* \*

The Mapuches open the ground and plant their crops in September, October, and November, and during this time a nearby chieftain, Quilalebo by name, invited surrounding groups to come help his people do their planting, for which he would provide food and diversion. Because my host, the chieftain Tereupillán, was Quilalebo's friend and ally, we accepted the invitation and went. Now, Quilalebo had been raised among Spaniards but hated them and had never spoken to any Spanish captive, and Tereupillán cautioned me not to speak to Quilalebo unless he spoke first.

We found about sixty Indians gathered at Quilalebo's settlement with the various implements that they use to open the ground for planting. The men use these implements to work the soil and make ridges onto which the women drop seeds. A chieftain who hosts such a gathering kills many calves and sheep to feed all the Indians

who join in the work. The fields are dotted with pots of chicha\* and campfires where meat roasts and women stir pots of stew, frequently supplying the workers with food and drink.

No one told me to join in the work, and when I did anyway, despite the Indians' insistence that I need not do so, they were very appreciative, and even Quilalebo softened toward me. I was digging alongside Tereupillán when Quilalebo approached and toasted his friend. Then turning toward me, he invited me, too, to drink, although wordlessly. I accepted the jar of chicha with the Mapuche salutation, "mari mari," and bowed with great respect. This display of humility and courtesy quickly undermined the chieftain's old rancor toward Spaniards, as I later confirmed.

That evening Quilalebo hosted the dance and celebration that customarily accompany collective planting. He now revealed his generous and demonstrative nature. After eating and drinking our fill of the magnificent feast, we went to the fire around which the dancing had already begun. A number of chieftains begged me to join their dance, and, desirous of pleasing them, I joined them. Now Quilalebo went to his daughter, who was dancing, and he took her by the hand and brought her to me, surrounded by the other maidens, and Quilalebo told his daughter to dance with me, for she was to be my wife. The maidens offered us chicha, as is the custom on such occasions, and each of the chieftains took one of the maidens by the hand and danced with her.

Never did I feel the devil so close to having me in his snare. The chieftains fervently encouraged my sensual appetites, as did the now-affectionate Quilalebo, who exercised total control over his daughter. Unable to extricate myself from the situation in any other manner, I took the girl's hand and spoke to her of the limitless gratitude that her father's expressions of esteem inspired in me. I said that the offer of her hand in marriage constituted the most wondrous gift I could ever hope to receive. I asked her nevertheless to forgive me—and here I released her hand—because I could not accept that gift. I explained that, because she was not a Christian, our union would be an offense to the Lord and a peril to my

\*A fermented corn drink still popular throughout the Andes.

immortal soul. In addition, I expected to be ransomed in the spring, so how could I bind myself to her love and then leave so soon? I promised her that if the ransom did not occur as planned, I would attempt to return and learn to live among her people. The maiden replied with polite approval that she would obey her father's wishes, whatever they might be. Meanwhile, the rest of the company was dancing around us, not having heard my words and judging us already married.

Next the girl's mother appeared, offering me a jar of chicha, addressing me as her son-in-law, and proclaiming her pleasure at the match. The good woman was, in fact, Spanish, but had lived so many years among Indians that her language, clothing, and habits had become quite degraded and barbarous. Therefore, although she told me the name of her conquistador father, I did not bother to remember it. I explained my refusal to marry her daughter as courteously as possible, and she accepted my reasons. She said that Quilalebo would nevertheless expect me to dance with her and her daughter, and taking my hand and the girl's she obliged me to dance with both of them at once. I contrived to show a happy and satisfied expression, but inwardly, I begged God's aid in the trials and tribulations of my captivity. As soon as possible I withdrew and slept, while the sound of the festivities continued all night long.

The next morning, when I awoke, the sun was already high in the heavens, and the women of Quilalebo's family were busy at their chores. Accompanied by one of the chieftain's young mestizo sons, I went down to the stream for a morning bath, as is the Indians' custom. Several maidens were already there, playing naked in the water, among them, my erstwhile bride of the night before, who stood out for her beauty, her delicate manners, and her light mestizo coloring. Her brother encouraged me to approach her, and I confess to my readers that I was sorely tempted. I could not avert my gaze from her, and seeing us there, the girls called us over, with the free and high-spirited behavior of unmarried Indian maidens at such gatherings. Not wishing to seem rude, I declined cheerfully, saying that we were headed elsewhere and in a hurry. And even though they laughed and continued to beckon to us, we excused

ourselves jokingly and continued along the bank to a more withdrawn and hidden place.

*Analyzing the Sources: Why does this author (as well as others) emphasize the indigenous people's (supposed) inclination to convert to Christianity? How do attractive Indian maidens fit into this Spanish vision of colonization?*

## AN ACCOUNT OF THE GUARANÍ MISSIONS

### José Cardiel

*José Cardiel (born 1704) was a Jesuit missionary who provided a detailed description of the Guaraní missions in what is today Paraguay and neighboring areas of Argentina and Brazil. Like the Mapuches of southern Chile and the indigenous people of Brazil generally, the Guaraníes were originally semisedentary. Unlike sedentary indigenous people, whose pre-Columbian farming villages could be incorporated into the ordinary system of Catholic parishes, the mobile Guaraníes were gathered into missions by the Jesuit order. In the following excerpt from his 1747 Account of the Missions, Cardiel discusses the indigenous people's participation in various aspects of Catholic religious observance organized by the missionaries. Cardiel was forced to leave Spanish America in 1767 along with all other Jesuits.*

Each church in these missions has thirty or forty musicians and might easily have more, except that their number is limited in order that enough laborers be available for economic production. The Indians regard it as a great honor to be a musician, just as they so too regard the exercise of any occupation associated with the church. Boys begin their musical training at the age of eight or nine under the supervision of a native teacher whose work is normally characterized by considerable seriousness and zeal. They learn quickly, and

SOURCE: adapted from Guillermo Furlong, *José Cardiel y su carta—relación (1747)* (Buenos Aires: Librería del Plata, 1953), pp. 165–68.

yet there are limits to the musical vocation among them. No matter how skilled a musician, no Indian ever becomes a composer, because Indians lack the creative faculty, their abilities being limited strictly to imitation. They are instructed in the following manner. The instructor plays or sings an example of what is to be learned and is imitated exactly by the pupils. The instructor strikes an erring pupil immediately with his hand, just as one does in training a dog. By dint of continual practice, even indifferent pupils memorize each piece of music that they are to perform in church, and good pupils with attentive instructors learn to sight read difficult musical scores flawlessly after looking them over two or three times.

Let us discuss their dances, which occur exclusively in a religious context and for a religious purpose, especially in festivities associated with particular saints. There is no dancing outside of a religious context, such as for courtship, as occurs in Europe, nor do women dance at all, whether in public or in private. Mission Indians also dance in the honor of visiting bishops or other dignitaries, either lay or ecclesiastical. Each village in the missions has an instructor who teaches and organizes these dances. Many are quite elaborate, and all present a religious story or drama. A few involve a single dancer, but most of their dances are performed by a large group who often present a cast of characters. Some dances, as in Spain, represent battles between opposing armies who swing their swords or fire guns in time with the music. Some dances dramatize struggles between angels and devils in their corresponding costumes. In others, dancers carry bits of a larger picture that, when held up together and assembled at some point of the performance, combine into a perfect image of the Virgin Mary or of San Ignacio, the founder of our holy order, or of some other saint. In another performance, twelve Indians of various ages, including children, play instruments and dance simultaneously, requiring no additional musicians. Such are the dances of the missions. Oh, that the rest of the Christian world danced in this way, rather than in the scandalous ways that have become so common!

After each dance a few Indians perform some sort of entertainment at the intermission while the large group changes costumes, and some of these entertainers demonstrate special talent, but never

do their performances include anything immoral in the slightest, as often occurs elsewhere. To the contrary, everything that the Indians witness in these assemblies serves as a wholesome and edifying diversion, preventing them from straying in mind or body from teachings of the Church and adding to the attractions of mission life.

The most important public observances in the missions are Holy Week, Corpus Christi, and the feast pertaining to the patron saint of each village. The procession of Corpus Christi, celebrating the triumph of our holy faith, occasions the erection of triumphal arches over streets and the decoration of village squares with altars at all four corners. Leafy boughs and fragrant flowers adorn the arches and altars and line the streets along which the procession must pass, conveying the consecrated communion host. The arches also contain chattering parrots, other beautiful birds that sing delightfully, monkeys of many species with their wry expressions, and various wild animals that lend grace and vivacity to the scene. The lovely contents of the churches are brought out on those days, and so, too, do the people bring out the finest things of their houses (perhaps a painting of the kind they fancy here, perhaps a wall hanging of striped design) to beautify the street in tribute to the Lord—things that the Indians regard as precious, and which the Lord, who truly cannot but esteem these tokens of their affection and obeisance, must also therefore regard as precious. In their innocence and candor, the Indians contribute even brightly colored articles of clothing to the public display, and because they seem not to discern what things may be inappropriate, they sometimes bring out underclothing, so that the village priest must inspect the street ahead of the procession to make sure it will pass by nothing indecent.

Preparation for this celebration begins many days in advance and involves everyone, so that all lend their hands to the adoration of the Lord. During these days the Indians gather the leafy boughs and flowers and animals hitherto described. Individual families adorn the area in front of their houses, and the principal men of the village take responsibility for the large triumphal arches that span the street. The village priest plays no part in these preparations, leaving everything to the great devotion of the people.

Dancers accompany the procession that conveys the consecrated communion host through the streets during Corpus Christi, and so, too, do musicians who play both stringed and wind instruments. Soldiers are there, as well, wearing their dress galas, carrying lances, and making gallant displays in the style of old Spain. They wave their military banners in tribute to the consecrated host. The Indian leaders of the village bear upon their shoulders the portable platform that conveys the host in its richly bejeweled enclosure, and beside the platform walk numerous altar boys, in their clean and attractive robes. Two others walk before the platform swinging incense burners. And there, too, goes the priest, while the sacristan and others of the faithful strew flowers in his path. And all is done without rowdiness or even a trace of vanity, and to the contrary, executed with such devotion and received by the spectators with such respectful awe and silence, that I confess never to have been present at Corpus Christi in the missions without feeling deeply moved.

And consider that, even given the existence of these spectacles, celebrations, and festivities, many Indians leave the missions and wander through the land, seeking employment in the towns populated by Spaniards, seeking a livelihood in the vast, open, and almost uninhabited spaces, and drifting wherever their volatile spirit may lead them. How much less effective would the missions be if such entertainments did not exist?

*Analyzing the Sources:* According to Cardiel, what is the crucial evangelizing function of the music and pageantry that he describes? What part do you think it played in transculturation?

## A GUIDE FOR INEXPERIENCED TRAVELERS

### Alonso Carrió de la Vandra

*Alonso Carrió de la Vandra was a Spanish colonial official, born around 1715. In 1771, he was offered a commission to inspect the overland postal route between Buenos Aires and Lima. His Guide for Inexperienced*

*Travellers is a partly fictionalized account of that inspection. In the text, Carrió de las Vandera addresses his remarks to his assistant, a man partly of indigenous descent, whom he scornfully calls Concolorcorvo ("Crow-colored"), and he curries royal favor by lauding Spanish rule, praising Hispanization, and criticizing the Indians, in stark contrast to Guaman Poma. Here, having arrived in Cuzco, the haughty inspector discourses on the qualities of Indians and defends Spaniards against charges of mistreating them.*

Two centuries ago, Señor Concolorcorvo, there were apparently no fewer than seven million Indians living in Peru. I have not seen the ruins of enough abandoned towns to have housed such a large population, so they must have lived in remote areas of the mountains, hunting and gathering their subsistence. Clearly, then, the women of these bleak highlands were never very fertile. From Lima to Jujuy, a distance of five hundred leagues, one finds very few Spanish women, so that men of all qualities, whether Spanish, blacks, or mestizos, tend to seek Indian women. The children of these unions do not count as Indians.

Indians are not much different from Spaniards in their facial features. Thus, when an Indian serves one of us and is kindly treated, the first task is to teach him cleanliness. He needs to wash his face, comb his hair, cut his nails, put on a clean shirt (even of coarse cotton fabric), and then, if he is a good servant and after a couple of months his master provides shoes and better clothes, he more or less becomes a mestizo. Cleanliness and good treatment aided by the benign climate—and not light skin color—is what allows Indian men and women to change their status, and often their descendants will pass for true mestizos and even for Spaniards. I have seen no writings on the decline of the Indian population and have heard only that Spanish *aguardiente*\* is the main cause.

SOURCE: adapted from Alonso Carrió de la Vandera, *El lazarillo de ciegos caminantes* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1985), pp. 176–80.

\*Raw rum.

I do not deny that the mines consume a large number of Indians, but this mortality stems not from the labor that they must do with silver and mercury, but rather, from their immoral behavior, from their nighttime revelries, and from other excesses that absolutely resist correction. Contact with mercury or the mercury-laden rock has no more effect than contact with any other sort of crude ore. Let us suppose that every year about two thousand more Indians die doing forced labor in the mines than would have perished had they stayed home. This is really quite a small number compared with the previous population of seven million and cannot satisfactorily account for the decline.

Admittedly, Spaniards occupy agricultural lands for their crops, but these lands are not needed by the Indians and the greater part of them have been made fertile by Spanish efforts to construct irrigation ditches and channel water from distant sources, efforts in which Indian laborers have of course played a part. One could say that the Spanish cultivation of these improved lands has been more beneficial than detrimental to the Indians.

Rather, it is the Indian leaders themselves who are much to blame for the decrease of their people. They are so greedy for lands that, when a tributary Indian dies, the community leader conceals his death and pays his tribute in order to retain control of the land assigned to the deceased tributary. The leader adds the stolen land to his own property or sells it to a Spaniard or mestizo. The result is that the Indians' village communal lands decrease day by day and, finding themselves landless, the villagers leave to work on haciendas or to seek a livelihood in the cities. Their departure is prejudicial because they have no children, fall into vice and into debt, and die at an early age or end up in prison or doing forced labor in a workhouse.

Many other causes could be adduced for the decline of the Indian population, señor Concolorcorvo, but it would be a waste of time. Rather, if you wish to accompany me from Cuzco to Lima, prepare for our departure two days from now.

*Analyzing the Sources: What concern does the author share with las Casas and Guaman Poma, despite the enormous difference in his attitude toward the indigenous people?*